THE COMMONWEAL

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UTILIZING GOOD WILL

ON RETURNING from London, after the breakdown of the international economic conference, Walter Lippmann reports that Americans abroad, whether they agree or disagree with the Roosevelt policies, heartily desire to be back home, in the thick of the tremendous struggle to make those policies succeed. Such Americans "would not for the world miss so great an adventure." The adventure itself is described by Mr. Lippmann most vividly. Speaking of the European observers of the American experiment, he says that in all countries are men who are enthusiasts for the Roosevelt policies, "and also, of course, men who are absolutely certain they must fail. But by far the largest number of men I met were in a mood which might be described as one of anxious fascination, not unlike that in which they might watch some one crossing a chasm on a tight rope. On the whole, they seemed to agree that the chasm had had to be crossed and that our tight rope was the only way there was to cross it quickly. They desperately hope we shall cross, not because they are excessively benevolent but because they do not wish to feel the effects of a bad accident."

This picture of a vastly hazardous, yet necessary, adventure—a foray into the unknown compelled by the present desperate condition of national and international affairs—must be shared by many observers of the social crisis. A tremendous effort to transform the economic system without further interruption of its ordinary, customary processes is going on. It might be likened to an attempt to repair and re-fuel an automobile while it is still going but in danger of breaking down, or running wild, and of causing a great disaster on a crowded highway. As Mr. Lippmann says, the keen interest of the rest of the world in the scene is due to the fact that the American experiment affects all other nations immediately and vitally in their ordinary affairs. "This direct impact of American events, due to the immense weight of the American economic system, has made these events the central fact in contemporary history. Rightly or wrongly men feel that their own destinies are bound up with our success or failure."

Every day brings new evidence which lights up —for those who preserve an ability to make distinctions, and are not emotionally distracted either

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by premature optimism, or invincible pessimism—the critical, and still undetermined character of the American crisis. For example, the report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for June, showed that more than half a million persons obtained employment during that month in factories and non-manufacturing industries. These figures, moreover, did not include gains in railroads, farms, and other industries or occupations, but Secretary of Labor Perkins said that these important lines also showed a marked increase. Even the gains explicitly reported proved that there had been a rise of 29 percent since March in purchasing power in manufacturing industries. Now, events have demonstrated even to those least instructed in the economic factors of the world crisis that feebleness of purchasing power is at the root of all our economic troubles. Therefore, its increase in strength is a most cheering sign. When it is still further shown by the addition to purchasing power spread among at least a million workers as the new time and wage codes went into effect in the middle of July in textile factories and in some of the steel mills, there is substantial reason for optimistic hopes.

On the other hand, even in issuing the good news, Secretary Perkins voiced the opinions of many other well qualified observers when she warned the country that there was grave danger as well as reason for hope in the increase of employment. There has been a great deal of merely speculative making of new goods. The production is far ahead of present effective demand. Certain manufacturers are gambling as much in their factories as others are doing on the Stock Exchange—where some of the warning signs that were disregarded in 1929 have already appeared—notably the rise of some stocks to a point wildly in excess of the earning capacity of the companies represented by such stocks. Taking advantage of low wages and low costs of materials, these manufacturers are risking the success of the national effort in a selfish race for personal or corporate profits. Miss Perkins says: "In the speculative race to produce as much as possible before wages and hours are fixed by the industrial codes—as appears to be the case in some industries—lies the danger of piling up surplus stocks which may prove a boomerang to business."

Moreover, there seems to be a determined effort on the part of many big industrial interests to oppose the administration's whole policy, as expressed in the Industrial Recovery Act. Not only are some of these interests holding back, and delaying the preparation of their voluntary codes, but there are reports that at least one great industry, or a predominating portion of it, the steel manufacturers, may refuse to obey the act, and fight the whole matter out in the courts. At present, or until this latter news should be confirmed, we can express no opinion on this matter, except to say that it confirms our thesis that we are still far from being in sight of the happy end of our national crisis, to say nothing about world conditions, which obviously are most unsettled.

We are directly concerned, however, in urging to the best of our ability enhanced action on the part of our ethical and moral leaders and teachers to spread at least the principles of social justice among the people, even although there is disagreement as to the methods to be employed to make them effective. We say this without, however, abating in any degree our belief, so many times expressed in these pages, that there is a great need for many more instructors of Christian sociology than we possess, as well as a corresponding need for a really vast increase in the number of Christians willing to study sociology in the light of Christian principles. For we are thinking of a hopeful and encouraging fact that is too often ignored or forgotten, the fact, namely, that there is a great multitude of individuals in any society which has a Christian origin of its moral and ethical ideas, which in practice acts upon such ideas, even when they are in conflict with contradictory ideas which dominate—or seek to dominate—the actual economic or political systems prevailing in such a society.

As Christopher Hollis pointed out in a recent issue of the Clergy Review, even in the mid-Victorian epoch, when English society was ruled by the most absolute sort of *laissez-faire,* hundreds of great leaders of that society did not live according to the economic code which they professed. "They professed that no man could possibly act from any motive save that of desire to fill his own pocket. Had that been true, had the judge and the soldier and the statesman been actuated by no ambition save that of buying their positions in the cheapest market and selling their services in the dearest, obviously society must have fallen to pieces in a decade . . . it is clear that Victorian England survived and prospered because thousands of decent men and women, on whose lips were the ethics of Benthanism, in fact gave their lives illogically, unsparingly and without thought of gain to the service of their fellow men." They did so, because their souls had been enlightened by Christianity, even if their minds had become darkened by the sordid wisdom of Mammon. The same fact is apparent today. There is a vast fund of good will, of Christian ethics, still present in our own society. It is the great task of our moral leaders to organize and instruct the scattered individuals who possess their share of the treasures of Christianity, and then to apply this force to the solution of our greatest social crisis.

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WEEK BY WEEK

BIDS FOR friendship have passed from Paris to Rome and back again during recent weeks, so far without a single hitch. It begins to look as if one of the genuine results of Mussolini's Four-Power Pact may be the settlement of certain standing differences between Italy and France. Hitler's tactics in Austria aided this movement. Mussolini would not relish a German control of that frontier. The arrival of Balbo's air squadron was utilized by the French government as an occasion for a polite gesture having an unmistakable significance. Other delegations of Fascists have been welcomed with open arms. It is rumored that the controversy over naval equality is on the verge of settlement, the French being prepared to make substantial concessions. However that may be, Signor Mussolini has made it entirely clear that war is the last thing he desires. Undoubtedly part of this attitude is based on sheer common sense, though it is also clearly the result of a realistic estimate of Italy's economic strength. The depression has not been kind to any country's economic system, but it is safe to say that the Fascists have one of the poorer and most sorely tried of all countries. If as a result of these and other circumstances, long-standing differences between the French and the Italians are eased out of existence, the Continent and the world as a whole will have been given at least one reason for optimism. War may or may not be hell, but it is surely the straightest road to the poor house.

Between Paris and Rome

THE FLIGHT of the Italian aviators to this country, in every way we believe reflected dignity on themselves, on aviation and on their country. It was a noble flight and a useful one. Aviation has been subjected to so much that is mere rabble dazzling of no more significance to the development of aviation than some poor fellow going up in a rickety machine at a country fair and producing an effect by risking his life! The solid, disciplined fellows who are going up daily, who are carefully grooming their ships and managing all the other important groundwork of aviation, to carry passengers and mail safely, on schedule, untouted, unsung and unremunerated with movie and side-show contracts, are really done an injustice by the stunters. Their courage is as fine, their skill and intelligence as great and their service incomparably greater. They can legitimately take pride, however, in such a flight as that of the Italian airmen. Such a flight is a sign of the steady technological advancement of aviation. It stirs the imagination with visions of useful developments. It is a contribution to the further advancement of flying. The mass flight of General Balbo's twenty-four planes and his company of nearly a hundred men, gave a breadth of experience and of opportunity for observation and the checking of data, from which really valuable and reliable information may be obtained. The behavior of the men ashore, their discipline, their attendance at Mass, likewise pleased us as evidence of decent, purposeful human dignity, a pleasing normality of human behavior under abnormal conditions. We recall the mass flight executed by the United States Navy in making the first crossing by plane of the Atlantic and the well ordered mass flight of our army airmen around the world, events comparable in character and importance to the flight of the Italian airmen. And we note with interest General Balbo's statement from his experience in leading a similar flight across the southern Atlantic two years ago, that the southern route is the best and wonder at the direction this may give to future developments of air traffic.

Making Flying History

AS WE go to press, the ballot counts in Alabama and Arkansas are piling up and indicate a nearly two to one majority for repeal of the prohibition amendment in Alabama and three to two in Arkansas. Three and a half months ago, Michigan was the first state to ratify the twenty-first or repeal amendment, and now the two southern states complete a roster of eighteen to vote for repeal as against not one for prohibition. This is the half way mark in the number of states necessary for repeal. Washington observers are prophesying that the thirty-six states necessary to complete repeal will have voted by early December. Thirty-five states will have expressed their sentiments on the subject by November eighth, and in five additional the legislatures have already authorized elections. With the swelling sentiment for repeal and the clearer and clearer indication of the tyranny of a minority which was perpetrated on this country in the name of prohibition, the probabilities all indicate that the year will see the end of the costly experiment. How clearly this tyranny has been in fact that of a minority is indicated by the record as the people of the country are given an opportunity to express themselves. The old boojum of the solid dry south has been shown to be one of the preposterous claims of the professional dry clique. That Alabama's vote in 1933 is no sudden change of heart by her people is clearly indicated by the fact that in 1909, the last previous time that a direct vote on repeal was held in that state, the people by three to two rejected a proposal to write prohibition into the State Constitution. This whole chapter of American history, besides its own immediate importance, should have a salutary effect in exploding the power of small, well-organized

Prohibition's Passing

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groups that through lobbying exert influences on timid legislators out of all proportion to the real sentiment of the people.

A Thought from Oklahoma

THAT there are modes in malefaction, just as there seems to be historical warrant for seeing modes in sanctity, we have learned very thoroughly. Whatever the reason, stock watering, claim jumping, large-scale philandering, food poisoning, kidnapping, go by periods. Murder is always in fashion, of course, but even the styles in murder vary with the Time Spirit. An item from Oklahoma reporting a theft that makes very pleasant reading compared with what we are used to hereabouts, suggests to the mind wistfully adream that this phenomenon of mass imitation among criminals might be constructively used. Why cannot we raise the crime level by publicizing and patronizing only the better sorts of crime? The Oklahoma thief, who specialized in chickens, cleaned out a prosperous coop, but left behind a cock and two hens to breed other fowl for the owners—and left also a neat little couplet pinned to the door explaining his motive. This is the sort of crime that might be marked 85 or 90 percent in any scale of values worked out for a campaign of crime betterment. If we must have thieves (and apparently we must), let us teach them, by all the methods of a favoring publicity, to have humor, to have a sense of the plight of the despoiled, to have a heart. We cannot expect Robin Hoods; perhaps we cannot even expect all the couplets to rhyme. But if, by snubbing corporately all but chivalrous and reasonably humane robbers, we finally wrought a standard whereby peculators, as a point not of timidity or ineptitude but of pride, left a little something untouched—whereby absconding bankers did not convert all the possible assets, shearers did not snip all the possible fleece, tax-jumpers did not maneuver out of the maximum of taxes—it would be a good deal.

Report of the 4A

THE SEVENTH annual report of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism (which calls itself more briefly the 4A) prompts some speculations in the mind curious about psychological vagaries. When the Scripture says so profoundly, "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God," it utters not so much a moral condemnation as a mental diagnosis confirmed perpetually by instinct and experience. It does take exactly that mixture of brashness and blindness that makes up a fool, to lead a man to deny what has been the inescapable Intuition of most of even clouded and mistaken human thought, and the patent Core and Center of even tragic and sinful history. So true is this that comparatively few have actually possessed the folly requisite to qualify. Some have called themselves atheists who were too ignorant and unseasoned to know that they were merely rebels against the abuses committed by this or that professed religion. Some who are naturally religious, though with weak powers of self-scrutiny, have repeated the formulas of formal disbelief without prejudice to their own instinctive beliefs. Some deny God's existence when they mean merely that they cannot understand the mystery of suffering. We do not here consider, of course, those who really hate God; plainly, they must believe in Him.

APPROACHING the 4A pamphlet, then, with the choice of imputing to the editors either these various, not ignoble confusions, or the solemn folly of convinced atheism, we lean to the former. We have no right to say they are not convinced atheists, but in the face of their unexciting little paper, which proclaims its tenets and breathes its denunciations with an almost whispering mildness, we find it very hard to believe. On the internal evidence, we should say that they might be a group of likable but not highly instructed gentlemen, with kind hearts which make them dislike tragedy and injustice, and simple minds which lead them to be satisfied with a very conventional scapegoat formula. They say, "The existence of evil proves the non-existence of God," and let it go at that. They do not know that the question has engaged all of the deepest believers; they do not even know what they mean by "evil" —though they mean something metaphysical that would astonish them. They extend a word of comradely approval to the revolutionists of Spain. They describe the Blamegiving service which they hold yearly as a counterblast to Thanksgiving, and which must actually be more soporific even than overeating at Grandma's. They tell the excruciatingly unimportant litigations in which they are engaged. They set forth the year's triumphs, prominent among them being, apparently, the placing of an Atheist paster in a Gideon Bible, and the protesting of a Propagation of the Faith meeting in a public armory. We should not deny that some of this may do mischief; but can any set of programs and formulas so dreary, so contracted and lacking in all human relevance, really satisfy anyone? There is no base here, no real ideology; there is none of that mystical appeal to science by which, in a simpler age, unbelief could sustain itself almost as another form of belief; there is not even any of the rhetorical fire that inflamed an occasional No-Goddite of old. There seem to be merely the routine agenda of an unliving idea. We offer the suggestion that the editors are carrying on from force of habit. No capacities can be small enough to be fulfilled by this. They admit their numbers and influence dwindle.

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THE SACRED FIRE

"AM I A man of gingerbread that you should mould me to your liking?" asks a character in one of Beddoes's forgotten plays. That is a query which strikes pretty near the roots of something essentially dear to Americans and seemingly threatened nowadays—the feeling that one is entitled to be one's self and to act accordingly. Historically we as a people have laid great stress on the person. You will not find in our literature or oratory many defenses of the assumed sacredness of elemental groups such as race. Indeed, we have gone pretty far sometimes towards repudiating necessary ties with our fellow-men. Thus Thoreau went to jail for refusing to pay a poll-tax; and Hawthorne stood apart from Lincoln and shrewdly judged him as if he were an Australian potentate and not the leader selected by destiny in an hour of conflict and fate. Generalizations are perennially unsafe. Yet it is doubtless this same preference for individualism which now keeps us so free even of organizations which would be genuinely helpful and continues to make us suspect the value of international action.

One of the most curious things about our collective past is the extent to which this intrinsically Anglo-Saxon attitude has been taught to many immigrant groups hailing from countries faithful to an entirely different point of view. A certain amount of the old-world clannishness persists, to be sure, among the Irish, the Germans and the Italians. But little by little such groups become quite as fully Americanized in this respect as in other ways. And so our individualism proves something like a problem in a world speedily rushing towards one of several forms of solidarity. There is no doubting that Europe veers round the twin poles of communism and fascism. Where the individual still exists on the Continent, he is—like Alain in France, Croce in Italy or Hauptmann in Germany—forced into the Goethean attitude of viewing what goes on round about him with charitable contempt and of minding his own Olympian business.

Who is right? The point at issue here is not whether one dislikes certain manifestations or ideological formulae of contemporary fascism or communism. After all both are probably in a state of transition, Russian communism having inherited the atheistical assumptions of nineteenth century Marxism and the several fascisms being weighted down by a good deal of loose revolutionary talk. The Italian system is very likely the most usually approved form of the "new order." But we all know that it is largely Mussolini at present and that its ultimate significance as a contribution to the art of government will be clear only after he has gone. No. The issue in the debate between ourselves and Europe is really one of premises. Has the European diagnosed the situation correctly, or are we still the "land of the future?"

It is not easy to decide. Just now there is probably no American familiar with conditions abroad who does not sense with real gratitude the superior position of his country. The United States has manifested a genuinely remarkable ability to gain general support for a program of action which, while attempting to reconcile divergent points of view, nevertheless imposes heavy sacrifices upon large groups of the population. Our people have "faith" in their institutions and their collective ability to meet difficult situations. Europe is characterized everywhere by wavering confidence in well-nigh all the theories of government and economics advanced by the past.

Nevertheless the European thinks he sees a great change in the political outlook of the United States. On the one hand he stresses the collectivistic ideology that has to some extent begun to characterize the American capitalistic system—an ideology of "general warfare" which Count Keyserling to some extent diagnosed in his book about the United States and which other continental writers have since discussed, often with more brilliancy than information. On the other hand he notes the "dictatorial" measures to which President Roosevelt is thought to have appealed in an effort to stem the tide of economic disaster. From the European point of view what has happened in Washington seems far more suggestive of Mussolini than, for example, anything done by the Wilson War administration. For the essence of contemporary dictatorship is not authority (as that used to be exercised by monarchs before the War) so much as solidarity. The fascist guarantees the welfare of all after demanding the surrender of the individual to the group. And he insists that the United States has gone pretty far this way.

One thinks, however, that we Americans continue to be influenced by the far more advantageous background against which we live. A country enormous in extent and rich in natural resources not yet exploited is a reality which every European regards with envy though not with hate. America is nowhere disliked abroad. It is still the land of promise, coöperation with which is difficult but antipathy to which is impossible. All the world believes that when the United States comes out of the depression, better times will follow for all countries. And hand in hand with that belief there goes the conviction that the political and social mission of the United States is potentially very great. We shall have followers if we know how to lead. But leadership is never blind or prejudiced. It examines and uses trends of thought and action, and is never handicapped by the delusion that what is happening elsewhere is of no importance.

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SOCIAL JUSTICE—A PROGRAM

By RICHARD DANA SKINNER

The long-view will probably reveal that the unsettled years through which we have been recently living are producing a great new social homogeneity, a rythm of numbers of our people thinking similar thoughts, working toward the same goal, after a transitional period of cross-purposes, cacophony, chaos. From anarchy in the business world we are advancing rapidly towards the formation of covenants for business. The contributions of Catholic ideology to this are substantial and specific, as Mr. Skinner points out.—The Editors.

TWENTY YEARS ago the Catholic layman was on the defensive in economic matters. He was an anti-socialist and little else. In spite of the thundering pronouncements of Leo XIII, the average Catholic was hardly aware of the fact that within the tradition and philosophy of his Church there lay a positive and constructive plan of economic action leading toward the general attainment of social justice.

In the leading Catholic magazines of that period, a veritable flood of articles denounced the tenets of Marxian socialism and of all the modified brands of socialism derived from it. On the constructive side there was little else than a plea for a living wage and for the elimination of some of the more obvious abuses in the labor market. The whole western world was so indoctrinated with the principle of *laissez-faire* economics that Catholic lay action, taken as a whole, attacked merely the abuse of the system and failed to plumb the depths of Catholic social philosophy. That philosophy, expressed practically by the Guild system of the Middle Ages, demanded more than the correction of abuses. It demanded a stabilizing of the entire economic structure and a discarding of the doctrine of *laissez-faire* in favor of an organized doctrine of social control with emphasis on private responsibility.

It was not the fault of the great Leo XIII that the Catholic laity failed to grasp the full significance of the Catholic tradition. The meaning of his words were clear but time and experience were necessary to make his voice reach the inner consciousness of the Catholic body. Today, Pope Pius XI, speaking with the double strength of his authority and of the world economic catastrophe, has brought about a veritable revolution in the Catholic view point. He has made the Catholic laity conscious, as they have never been conscious since the Middle Ages, of the positive and coherent force in Catholic social philosophy. The Catholic layman today no longer confines his thought to opposing socialism and mitigating some of the abuses of *laissez-faire* capitalism. He is actively seeking concrete measures through which a well ordered economic state may emerge from the present chaos and he is seeking this through the essentially Catholic principles of private responsibility guided and controlled by the people as a whole represented in the voice of the State.

Remembering vividly the cramped viewpoint and limited action of the general period culminating just before the war, I was startled, to say the least, at the entirely new zeal and impetus displayed last fall at the November Regional Conference of the National Catholic Alumni Federation. This body, meeting in the halls of Fordham University, displayed a genuine crusading zeal for arriving at a specific program which would apply to the American scene, and in concrete terms, the broad principles laid down by Pius XI.

As a result of that conference, a number of specific proposals were set forth for discussion and debate during the ensuing winter. Following this, meetings were held in all parts of the country to examine these proposals and to bring them to a point where they could be acted upon affirmatively at the national convention of the Federation in June. In New York, where the meetings were particularly well attended and active, the main discussions were held fortnightly in the rooms of the Centre Association with prominent speakers discussing the program point by point. On the alternative weeks, various college alumni groups held smaller seminars to go over the material discussed at the main meeting the week before. As a result of all this activity, the Resolutions Committee was able to present a very definite program at the annual convention of the Federation held at the Centre Association June 22-24th. A brief outline of the proposals which were formally adopted at the convention will indicate to what an amazing degree the whole spirit of Catholic action has expanded and disciplined itself over the last twenty years. Broadly speaking, the concrete program of the Federation may be summed up in the one phrase, "a search for stability"—stability of earnings and employment, stability in the creditor-debtor relationship, stability in the price level and stability in the banking structure through increased responsibility.

Following its tentative recommendations last fall for a better ordering of industrial relationship through trade associations in partnership with labor and the government, the Federation heartily endorsed the general principle underlying the Industrial Recovery Act. The Federation naturally felt a keen gratification in the fact that the In-

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dustrial Recovery Act corresponds so closely with the tentative recommendations made at the Regional Conference last November. But it was strongly stressed at the June Convention that the partnership of labor in the general program should be more definitely established and that the legitimate interests of small business should be protected against any danger of organized monopoly. Since then many official statements from Washington have confirmed the impression that the government will see to it that both labor and small business are able to make their views felt in the reconstruction ahead.

The program of the Federation then turned its emphatic attention to the need of stabilizing the creditor-debtor relationship. This section of the Federation's program is so important as a measure of stabilization that its report should be quoted:

> With a constantly changing price level, the principle of long-term borrowing means either that debts are discharged in a lower purchasing power than the amount borrowed, thus providing an incentive to speculative greed; or that they must be discharged in dollars with a much higher purchasing power than that originally borrowed, thus causing widespread default and destruction of capital. In either case, if the financing were obtained at partnership risk (that is, by sale of common or preferred stock instead of bonds), both the investor and the original owner would share in the risks of a changing price level. The same principle that applies to borrowed money in terms of dollars applies to interest rates figured in terms of dollars. The principle of a fixed dollar indebtedness and its corollary of a fixed interest rate in a world of changing price levels is one of the major causes of financial instability and economic insecurity. A capitalism of simple partnership, instead of a dual capitalism of long term money lenders and owners, would seem to avoid one of the major disorders of the present world crisis.
>
> We hold that this principle, namely, that long term financing should be arranged through common or preferred stock rather than through bonds, should be adopted in the various production codes of each industry organized under the National Industrial Recovery Act. This can be done both by government insistence that it be included in each code, and by the organized industries agreeing among themselves that future long term financing be conducted on this basis.

Of course, the Federation also recognized that much of the evil resulting from the present creditor-debtor relationship in a world of changing prices could be eliminated if the price level itself could be better stabilized. To this end the Federation made a very specific proposal looking toward the adoption of "gold clearance standard." This, I admit, is a highly technical question. But its main principles can be summarized as follows. That gold should no longer be used as a circulating medium for popular use but should be used exclusively to settle daily clearance balances between banks, both within the nation and between nations. Much of the alleged scarcity of gold during the last few years has been due to the fact that people were hoarding gold. Gold has been required not only as a measure or standard for clearance, which is its proper use, but also to satisfy the individual who preferred to hold gold as a commodity rather than any other form of currency or credit. This has produced a scarcity of gold which has raised its value in relation to all other commodities and thereby greatly accelerated the catastrophe of falling prices. By eliminating the possibility of a "hoarding premium" on gold, much could be done to stabilize the general price level based on an honest gold standard. A full discussion of this subject would require many pages. It is perhaps enough for present purposes to point out that the insistence of the Federation on a gold standard of this sort is strictly in line with the ethical principle that all relationships between men, whether economic or moral, should be measured by strict standards. On the practical side, it might be added that the "gold clearance" standard has been the system followed by the Scotch banks for many generations with great success, and that it was the historic use of gold so successfully carried on up to the Civil War in the famous Suffolk Bank of Boston.

Another and most important part of the Federation's program for stability was the recommendation that large corporations be induced to segregate their earnings every year in such a way as to provide a definite ear-marked reserve for the future payment of indebtedness and for labor or unemployment in times of business recession. It has been all too common a practice for large corporations to carry over a portion of their earnings every year to a general surplus or reserve and, later on, to use this reserve for the payment of unearned dividends at the expense of labor and of creditors. The earmarking of corporate surpluses would mean that by common consent, labor and creditors would benefit to a definite degree from any such reserves and that after the earnings reserved for future dividends had once been paid out, no more unearned dividends could be paid. A measure of this sort would result in a much keener sense of corporate responsibility both toward the labor employed and toward creditors.

As to stability in the banking structure itself, the proposals of the Federation might be summed up as a common sense substitute for the much debated general "guarantee of deposits." In view of the direct bearing of these discussions on many current discussions of banking, it is well worth noting the following in the Federation's report:

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> We call for a greater extension of responsibility in banking, and for stricter accountability of banking officers and directors. Hence we endorse in principle recent legislation bringing about a stricter separation of banking functions. We recommend that commercial bank stockholders give bond for their double liability and that this liability be subject to call whenever a bank's assets fail to exceed its liabilities by a recognized margin. Responsibility should rest with the Federal Government for Federal Reserve member banks and with the state governments for state banks to determine when such point is reached, and the penalty for laxity in enforcing this measure should consist in making the examining authority, whether the state or Federal government, liable for loss to depositors in a bank that has not been closed or whose assets have not been replenished through stockholder assessments before its assets have fallen below the minimum required margin of safety.
>
> We consider this method of safeguarding depositors' interests better, in the long run, than a direct guaranty of deposits, which might tend to lessen responsibility and place a premium on careless banking and bank supervision.

I have not attempted, of course, in this short space any detailed discussion of these highly important proposals of the National Catholic Alumni Federation. It is obvious that a book could be written about any one of them. But this much I think is clear—that this document represents a major turning point in the history of Catholic action in this country. For the first time, a definite and specific program has been formulated after months of effort by the Catholic laity. The program is a closely interrelated structure whose ultimate basis, as the Federation states, "is the application of ethical standards and whose sincere purpose is the achievement of greater stability and economic security." This is a far cry indeed from the negative protests against Marxian socialism and the all too feeble pleas for greater justice to labor which characterized Catholic action just prior to the war. Catholic economic philosophy is now achieving a concrete expression filled with the consciousness of a tradition hundreds of years old and based on ethical principles which are part and parcel of the Catholic religion. Catholics themselves now realize that a divorce between ethics and economics leads to catastrophe. The Social Justice Program of the National Catholic Alumni Federation deserves the closest possible study by intelligent Catholic laymen and by editors and economists throughout the country.

THE END OF THE CORRIDOR

By WINIFRED M. LETTS

CONVENT FLOORS have a shining grace and convent parlors an atmosphere all their own. They are mildly Victorian without the beaded crocheted superfluities of Victorianism; but the religious pictures and the benevolent faces of past Reverend Mothers recall that happily maternal period with its straitness and pieties.

On the polished table was an aspidistra in a pot sunk in a green bowl which sat on a wool mat. Beside the pot lay a book which turned out to be a life of Saint Jane de Chantal, a lady of austere habit. Pio Nono appeared to bless the aspidistra from his frame on the wall.

In the window hung a large cage in which a grey parrot climbed up and down muttering to himself. His wicked winking eye held all the worldliness of an old cynic. He played the part that a gargoyle plays to a church. It is comic relief that humanity needs for contrast.

In one corner stood a weighing machine to weigh the patients on admission to the convalescent home. Beside it lay books of orderly charity.

Outside the windows stretched the gardens ready for their decorous brightness in Summer. All would be tidy, patterned in the borders as all within the house was neat cheerfulness, sanctified by the chapel in its midst; and better still, by that daily-lived virtue of women whose hearts are full of the charity set by St. Paul above all gifts of mind or spirit.

Reflection was cut short by the entrance of a nun. The black and white of the religious dress in its meticulous order makes all laywomen feel a little dowdy. The livery of the Highest Court shames such gew-gaws as beads and scarves.

This was I gathered Sister de Paul, the nun in charge of the woman patients. Middle-aged? Nuns have so often an ageless freshness of mien. Perhaps she would have been middle-aged "in the world." Her smiling teeth in that rosy face, they were to the credit of some dentist, and she wore spectacles. The white of her apron made brightness as she stood there. Her hand-clasp was warm. Had she known me better she would have kissed me on both cheeks.

"You have come to see dear Bedelia Martin?" she asked. "How glad she'll be. The poor old thing, she loves visitors. Oh! she goes up and down. . . but she's bright today. We can't want to keep her when Our Lord is ready for her. Isn't it good for us that we shall have her to pray for us? Friends in Heaven are a great blessing."

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The nun spoke with the happy sanity that most nuns and religious apply to death as to life. Death is a part of an orderly scheme of things, no more bewildering or shocking than birth. So met and accepted it becomes like the shadow of a sun-smitten cloud passing over the plain of life. Compared with such peaceful sanity the disorderliness of irreligion seems disheveled and dreary as a wind-tattered rag.

I followed the nun down the long tiled corridor. Her low-heeled shoes and full skirts made a soft sound as she walked. She opened a door and peeped in to say: "A visitor for you, Bedelia."

I went into a little room full of afternoon sunshine. It made a haze round a little old woman who sat up in bed. The light walls, the bright fire, the bedclothes, her white hair and pink shawl were irradiated by the sinking sun.

"Now," she said, "what do you think, dear?"

I was exclamatory, what more could the Queen, herself, want than this? Oh! but I must open the inner door and see the lavatory and all complete with space for her box and hooks for her clothes. Bedelia chuckled with pride. "Crowned I am," she declared. "And I pay my way, my dear, I get me pension, and then the little legacy I had and the family not ever forgetting me at the Christmas. I was always one to pay my own way."

Outside the windows the thrushes sang Vespers in the convent trees. What could one ask better for Bedelia than this? She had been in service since she was fourteen. During all the years one might say that religion had been her only recreation. Now the religious house was her home.

Bedelia had never been dismissed. She had stayed with each mistress till death. Wages had concerned her but little, she had preferred to go to people of small means but long pedigrees. She did ask that her ladies should be "Quality." Her instincts were feudal. When she found a real lady living a life of frugal elegance, Bedelia loved to be that Providence which sometimes takes form as maid-of-all-work. She would be cook, housemaid, parlourmaid, and finally nurse, taking exquisite pride in her lady. The relics of grand days were tended, the poverty of new days was concealed or kept so dainty that it was "My Lady Poverty" indeed. No evenings out—except for confession or for devotions—did she require. She was ever on duty. In three cases she had been night and day nurse and housekeeper combined. Her hands had done last offices, her voice had murmured prayers and tender words. Now she was near the need of these things herself, but she felt a delight in her power to pay her way. She pointed out the chair and table that had been given to her by her ladies. Her eyes sparkled as I noted each possession. There were flowers put by kind hands before an image of the Madonna beside her bed. The figure was in a white dress and had a lamp at its feet.

"Do you see that image?" Bedelia asked with a happy sigh, "that came with me and when I go they'll get it. Isn't that handsome?"

I looked at the figure with its insipid piety and eyes rolled up. How remote from the woman who "pondered things in her heart," the Jewish woman of the carpenter's shop. But what did the outward guise matter?

"Did you ever hear how I got her, dear?"

"No—tell me."

"Well, the first place ever I went was a small one, I was just fourteen and little at that. Anyway they went abroad, and they were not quality. So I looked for another place—it was with poor Miss Fitzgerald, you remember? I was there twenty years till she died—God rest her. What with aprons and a black dress I'd no money left but my cabfare to the new place and a threepenny bit. I'd been in a church on the quay to say a prayer and my way took me by a shop where they sold images. There she was, my beauty, in the window and I knew I must have her or die."

"But the money?" I asked, as expected of me.

"Ah wait now. I went in to the shop and there was an old woman. 'What can I do for you, my little girl?' says she. 'It's the lovely image,' says I, 'but I've no money till I get my wages every month. I've only my cabfare, tell you no lie, but I'd pay you bit by bit.'

" 'Oh,' says she, 'but I might sell it first, have you no more in your purse?'

" 'I've a threepenny bit,' says I.

" 'Give me that now,' she says 'and give me the nine shillings and sixpence as you can, for you have an honest little face and a notion comes to me it would be lucky so to let you have the image.' So, would you believe me, dear, but I took Blessed Mary away that very day to my situation? I was to get ten pounds a year and board myself on seven and six a week, so I saved two and six a week and paid it to the old woman. Now wasn't that a great blessing for me? And will you believe me, I've never lacked a bit of silver in my purse since that day."

We both gazed at the image in her white dress and blue sash. "I'm going to leave her to the Reverend Mother," said Bedelia "and she'll never be short for any good cause with *her* here."

Bedelia leaned back; she was tired and pale. Some pain had caught her. I left her and went down the corridor to find the kind nun. She met me by the swing door.

"The poor thing, I'll go to her now. Did she tell you about the image? She did. It's a great consolation to her."

She said good-bye and off she went down the corridor. And I went out to a world of Spring.

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THE CORN BELT COMES OF AGE

By CHARLES MORROW WILSON

A GREEN and golden dawn and I was getting into the Corn Belt. Villagers had shed coats. Morning wind brought in the odors of rich, black earth. I had come in from Ohio, following the Ohio river which was muddy and sullen from floods. Adjoining hills, destitute of timber and abandoned by farmers added to the river's mud content through minor land slides and caving banks. Even in the flatlands and valleys I saw little signs of farming. Occasional fields of wheat and corn were out-acred five to one by unused fields that bore no herbage except weeds.

Another day revised my impression of abandonment. There are a good many people on the land, but they aren't doing much about it. A road sign which testified in behalf of the Wide-Awake Restaurant intrigued me through vantage of contrast. The countryside as a whole has stopped being wide awake. It is deliberately, and perhaps wisely, snoozing.

In front of the Wide Awake Restaurant I met a young man in overalls that were convincingly earthy. He was whistling an indefinable tune as he whittled the blunt end of a shingle into infinitesimal slivers. I inquired of him the how of farming in those parts.

"Not but mighty little bein' done—about a third or fourth average I reckon. Folks ain't workbrittle this year. I'm not farmin' myself. My father and all my folks are farmers, but now they've been squeezed out. Taxes and borrowin'. My dad's still workin' the place he used to own. Says he'd rather rent as own it. But I've been doin' town chores—moin' yards, washin' autos, makin' gardens and all such as that. Soon as hogs and corn gets back to where I can make a livin', I'll go back to farmin'."

He showed no resentment to the forced transition. He believed things are getting better, explaining that he now averaged about twenty cents an hour for his labor, in place of fifteen during the past year. I inquired further reasons for optimism. "There's Roosevelt, and there's the movie house. It used to cost a quarter to see a show and the house was just about empty. Now it's down to fifteen cents and just about everybody goes."

Across the Indiana line I talked with a county agricultural agent who was remarkably free from departmental smugness and platitudes. He spoke of the administration's farm bill cryptically, saying that restoration of a crop price level of 1909-14 would be a first step in the right direction, but a rather feeble step. "Farm education and supervision is based on the old drive for increased production—on the war-time theory that increased tons of crops mean increased dollars of profits, which is about as near the opposite of truth as anything can be. Now the Federal Government is trying to go two ways at one time—trying to keep up its extension services and agricultural colleges that teach people how to grow more crops and spend more money while it proposes domestic allotment, which urges them to grow less and live on less. It's like leaving a sick man with a hot water bottle at his feet, an ice bag at his head."

In Illinois I witnessed a five-and-ten-cent auction. A farmer had been ordered sold out—all his worldy goods to satisfy a claim of a little over $900: 45 acres of average ground, house, barn, livestock, equipment and improvements representing a lifetime of seasonal profit and loss. A deputy sheriff was on hand to serve as auctioneer. A foppish young man with greased hair was the creditor's attorney. He looked nervous. Sixty or seventy farmers were on hand, dressed for work, grim, weathered people, shabby and gnarled with labor. They waited in the forlorn yard that was garnished with a long line of mud-splattered flivvers, wagons and saddle nags. When I joined the crowd a grizzled giant edged toward me.

"You don't want to do no biddin'."

"I hadn't planned to."

"Then don't."

The deputy stepped to the front porch and began a preamble about law and order and the duties of peace-abiding citizens. Nobody said anything. I couldn't locate the debtor. Presumably he was one of the crowd. A fat, whiskey-faced assistant who wore a silver star, came around the corner leading a Jersey cow.

"A good cow, gents. Well-shaped and a good milker. How much am I bid? A young cow in good shape. Who'll say thirty dollars? Who'll say twenty-five?"

The dude attorney paced to and fro nervously. The deputy moistened his lips and grinned. "What am I bid, then?"

A weazened little farmer with a shrill voice said five cents. The auctioneer grinned. So did the crowd. The cow was sold for a nickel. The sale went on. The auctioneer, his henchmen and the lawyer vanished. A legal sale had been held. The hard-boiled creditor had gone into the ditch. The debtor's belongings were left intact by the neighborly crowd.

It was a peaceful burlesque but a determined one. I feel sure that anyone interrupting the procedure would have stood a first-rate chance of

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hanging. Certainly he would have drawn the bum's rush in a big way.

At a river town I talked with a farmer who had 80 acres he wanted to get in corn, but he allowed that every time a farmer goes out to plant the heavens drench him with rain; that the Washington boys are trying to raise farm prices by reducing crops, and that it looks as if the weather clerk is one of Franklin Roosevelt's brain trust.

I talked with a country preacher in Adair county, Iowa, home county of Henry Wallace, the Secretary of Agriculture. The preacher reported the dilemma of farms with benevolent patience. "Our farm folks are thinking for themselves at last. Adversity has brought them ties of brotherhood and strength in numbers. Our young people are coming back to the land from cities and from colleges. A good many will stay with the land. They are citizenry we need most in these times."

The farm preacher took no stock in the prospects of an agrarian revolution of gunfire and bloodshed. "We've got nobody to fight. This is America right here—the heart of the land."

Back in Illinois, Old Doc Colyer, president of the Farmer's Protective Association, had proffered much the same sentiment. He had pointed out that farmers, as passably intelligent citizens have begun to appreciate their true power and importance in national life; that as a class they are as farspread and unblockable as the tides of the ocean; that anyone who doubts their being capable of concerted action might drift out to the Corn Belt and look and listen for a spell.

Viewed generally, Iowa appeared quiet and doggedly serene. Her ratio of vacant fields is rather lower than that of neighboring states. But the towns showed an exceptional quota of loafing farmers, citizens who amble sleepily or simply sit, dress and posture, speaking of bitter hard times, but telling too of assets in the guise of hope. As Will Rogers says of his fellow Oklahomans, they are looking worse but feeling better.

I headed north for a first hand look at the Wisconsin milk wars, which although they have yielded spectacular news, have not impressed me as typifying the true mind and humor of the Corn Belt. Stopping at a hotel in Appleton, I heard the story of the milk war's first fatality. The day before at Port Washington an old farmer named William Dickman had been run over and killed while attempting to dump the cargo of a milk truck headed for Milwaukee. Appleton itself was recovering from temporary havoc. A detachment of 300 national guardsmen armed with clubs and tear gas bombs, had run several hundred milk strikers out of town. The strikers had taunted the soldiery, the guardsmen had splattered them with a gray cloud of tear gas and the strikers had very logically retreated.

Next day a good many of the strikers had strayed back into town. The troops were not very ominous, plain yokelry out for a good time at Government pay.

At Shawano county, highway machine shops had been made a prison for milk strikers. About 200 countrymen had been herded into the dive and were guarded by a battery of four machine guns. The strikers appeared to be a rather typical assortment of farmers and farm hands.

I asked a national guard officer in command the specific reason for the incarceration. The captain lit a cigarette, stretched to his full six feet and yawned: "Just keepin' 'em here to cool a spell. These boys have all been caught up for blockin' highways. The Adjutant-General may forward some prosecutions. Personally I doubt it. When things have cooled down, we'll turn 'em loose."

"If they should attempt a break, would you turn those machine guns on them?"

"We've told 'em we would. That's our orders. But of course the guns might jam or something." He eyed me narrowly and grinned. "We aren't out for bloodshed. This squall will be over in a few days anyhow. Until it is, we'll wait easy and keep our shirts on."

When I first embarked upon my tour of Corn Belt sight-seeing and talk-hearing, knowing friends told me that I would be roaming a realm of 1933 Tea Parties, watching re-enactment of the farmers' stand at Lexington. On the whole I believe the advice was accurate, at least as to spirit. Certainly the spirit of revolt has spread far and generally in the Midwest, and the Corn Belt has become a land of embattled farmers. But the battle lines are still within the realm of viewpoint and conviction. Up to date the outcroppings of violence have been exceptional.

But as I see it the Corn Belt Revolution is more than a transient state of mind. It has taken the form of a firm economic philosophy; a virile contention that man has the right to earn and hold land through virture of his own labor; that he has the right to adjust debts and expenditures to the buying capacities of his crops. The Midwestern farmer is in a mood to plant little, buy little and keep ownership of his property.

The revolution in estimates shows sure harbingers of intellectual maturity. This is significant for just as the Corn Belt is strategic center of American agriculture, so it has become economic center for farm indebtedness and mis-evaluation. Sixty percent of the country's total of almost $9,000,000,000 of farm mortgage debt is concentrated in the twelve North Central states. Almost 70 percent of the $3,000,000,000 of incidental farm debt is centered in the same area. The section is expected to pay almost half a billion dollars a year in farm debt interest. The

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increase in farm incomes that might be realized if the administration's farm bill can restore crop prices to a pre-war level would barely cover interest charges on old debts.

Even as it views the rainbow of advancing crop prices, the Corn Belt mind sees no alternative for re-estimating and shearing down the prevailing burden of land debt. It realizes that credit usage of the past ten years has given costly and sure proof that farm land is a work shop and not an investment bank. It realizes that land ownership has been mercilessly *strafed* by greedy speculation; that even though the farmer has swallowed the alluring bait of credit, the fact remains that Farmer Jones's land is valuable only through its ability to bring Farmer Jones and his family a secure living wage in return for conscientious and intelligent tillage; that any other estimate of land worth is unnatural and false.

This wage base theory of land value is not new. But in contrast to the late era of riotous speculation, it is revolutionary. The revolution in estimates has already come to pass in the minds and conscience of Corn Belt farmers. Its most widespread and typical appearance is by way of negative tactics—less planting, evasion of foreclosure, and stubborn nonchalance towards exhorbitant credit demands. But these are formidable and powerful strategies.

Revelation

The ancient sun seemed new today,
He felt like going to his knees.
The daisies seemed like wise young eyes,
And there were prophets in the bees.

He saw a grasshopper draw back
The triggers of his emerald thighs,
Grow incandescent in his skin,
And shoot and vanish all green eyes.

A robin ran and then broke stride
Into a frenzied hop on hop,
A bird became three silver bells
Upon a distant cedar's top.

Suddenly he knew himself
A part of a tremendous plan
Built for the tendrils of the vine
And the fingers of a man.

The round earth was a cradle rocked
By a mighty foot above,
Winds and days and seasons came
On errands of surpassing love.

He was as dear to the sun as trees,
He fitted as seeds fit a pod
With wings and petals, insect eyes,
And miracles made of the sod.

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN.

NEW WARFARE

By JOHN K. RYAN

CLAUSEWITZ'S definition is final: War is an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfil our will. Here is expressed the ideal essence of war that persists unchanged no matter how the physical forms of combat may vary from age to age. Every time necessarily actualizes this essential character of war in accord with its own conditions and powers. Thus the World War was a struggle between groups of nations employing colossal armies that were equipped with weapons effective in three dimensions. The effects of the World War, both in its course and aftermath, have been so comprehensive and persistent as to keep it and the possibility of another war constantly before the minds of men. The form and scope of any new attempt of one modern nation to impose its will upon another is a matter not only of speculative interest but of vital importance to friends of both peace and war.

Of the innumerable books upon the nature of future warfare that have been published in the last fifteen years, "What Would Be the Character of a New War?"* is outstanding. Sub-titled "Enquiry Organised by the Inter-Parliamentary Union," it is a collective volume to which twenty authorities have contributed. It is without the defects that often beset such volumes because subjects as well as authors have been carefully chosen to the end that as adequate and comprehensive an answer as possible be made to the general question proposed. This is evident from the names of the contributors and the subjects upon which they write. Under the heading, "The General Military Character of a Future War," General E. Réquin (France) writes on "Modern Developments in Methods of Warfare"; General von Metzsch (Germany), on "The New Tendencies of Development in Methods of Warfare"; Major-General J. F. C. Fuller (Great Britain), on "The Mechanisation of Warfare"; Major K. A. Bratt and Lieutenant G. B. R. Sergel (Sweden), on "Aerial Weapons and Future Wars." "The Decisive Aggressive value of the New Agencies of War" is discussed by Major Victor Lefebure (Great Britain). Professor William Oualid (France), General Count Max de Montgelas (Germany) and Mr. G. Hosono (Japan) write on the "War Potential." M. Francis Delaisi (France) writes on "International Ramifications of War Industry"; General Hans von Haeften (Germany) and Professor André Mayer (France) on "Protection and Defence against the New Methods of Warfare"; Professor Jeorg Jeorgensen (Denmark) on "Effect of a New War on the Mentality and the Morale of the Civil and Military Population"; Professor Liebmann Hersch (Switzerland) on "Demographic Effects of War on the Population during and after a War"; Professor Eli Heckscher (Switzerland) on "Importance of the Financial Forces of a Country for Carrying on War"; Professor Paul Haensel (Northwestern University) on "Financial Consequences of a War and of Preparations for War"; Sir Norman Angell on "Effect of

* *What Would Be the Character of a New War? Enquiry Organized by the Inter-Parliamentary Union. London: P. S. King and Son. $4.00.*

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War on the World System of Economics and Finance"; Dr. Gertrud Woker (Switzerland) on "Chemical and Bacteriological War" and M. Nicolas Politis (Greece) on "Future of International Law of Warfare." A preface is contributed by Dr. P. Munch, the president of the Inter-Parliamentary Committee on Security.

Necessarily and expectedly, these authorities differ upon more than one point. Again, so vast and complex would be a new war, it is difficult for all its features to be discerned in advance. Yet substantially the contributors to this symposium are in agreement on the general character of a new war. The most general of its characteristics may be listed as follows: such a war would be total and absolute; it would involve the use of colossal armies equipped with the latest mechanical and chemical weapons; civil populations would be an object of direct attack; it would not be a short war.

1. A new war would be "total," the kind of war "which absorbs and transforms the activities and resources of an entire people as a fighting machine." (Gen. Réquin, p. 2) In it the ideal of a nation in arms would be made completely real: all of a nation's human resources would be drawn either directly or indirectly into the conflict, and its material resources would be made to serve the inexhaustible demands of the modern military man. The term "war material" has become most inclusive. Thus Gen. Réquin writes: "In reality alongside material specifically constructed for war purposes, practically all materials which assure the life of the nation in peace-time are utilizable, with or without modification, in war." (p. 2) It is for total warfare, says the same authority, that each State is preparing its national mobilization.

2. The military forces in a new war would be the maximum that the nations engaged could produce. More than once the theory has been advanced that the day of colossal armies is past. It is thought that the nature and destructive effectiveness of modern weapons call for the creation of small, highly equipped and trained professional armies. That the various mechanical and chemical arms of a modern army do demand bodies of technically expert fighters is obvious. Yet the need for such fighters does not destroy the need for masses of less specialized troops. Past experiences, present realities and military logic indicate the presence of the most colossal armies in any total war that would be waged. When entire nations are in arms, nations that number their combined populations in the hundreds of millions, huge armies inevitably and necessarily result.

Again, the production of more efficient weapons does not detract from but adds to the truth of the ancient maxim that two men are better than one. Finally, as Count Max de Montgelas says, "It is true that modern mechanical weapons are infinitely more efficient than the old types of arms and that, as in the case of new machines used in industry, they leave a certain amount of man-power available for other purposes. But the more deadly the arms, the heavier the loss and the greater the need of reinforcements. In the World War, from 1917 onwards, the threatened dearth of man-power for reinforcements was the haunting dread of all general staffs; one side alone was freed from it by the United States.

There is no valid reason to believe that in the case of another general war anything would obtain except the death grapple of tremendous armies with attendant tremendous losses. As a matter of fact, steps seem even now being taken to make certain that particular feature of a future war. As General Réquin writes, "A thorough examination of the various military organizations, moreover, shows the anxiety of all States to assure themselves ultimately of *numbers*." (p. 9)

3. There seems to be no valid reason for not admitting that the new chemical weapons—and even bacteriological weapons, if they prove practicable—would be used in a new war. "War mania," says Dr. Woker, "knows but one aim—the complete and unscrupulous destruction of the enemy." (p. 391) Prescinding from the moral controversy latent in the word "unscrupulous," complete agreement may be made with the prediction that nations engaged in a future war would attempt to destroy one another with gas. Modern international policy, with war as a chief instrument, is guided by motives of immediate utility. Certainly, it is a fact of human history that no effective weapon has ever been discarded or legislated away. In view of past experience and present preparations, it is illusory to hold that gas would be renounced in another conflict. For the military mind there can be only one persuasive argument against chemicals. It is expressed by Gen. von Metzsch: "In a future war chemicals will be used on a far greater scale than in the World War, unless by that time their use has proved to be too humane to effect a speedy decision." (p. 30)

4. A fact made abundantly clear by the World War is that in a total war the real object of attack is a nation's will. In a future war earlier, swifter and more deadly attacks would be launched against this objective. The intelligence and will of a nation, resident in its general population and localized particularly in great industrial and administrative centers, must be conquered. It is the army behind the front that must now be defeated. "It is impossible to imagine any class remaining passive or indifferent in a future war, therefore war must be made against everything which could be a source of strength to the enemy." (Gen. von Metzsch, p. 33) Moreover, the feeble prescriptions of positive international law afford little hope of immunity for civil populations in the future. (Prof. Mayer, p. 228) It is appalling to think of the destruction of human life that would result from a really determined attack upon a capital city such as Rome, Berlin, Paris or New York. Yet in total and absolute warfare such attacks would be a necessary part.

5. "It is needless to insist upon the long-drawn-out character which a future war might assume, like the last, merely by reason of the immense forces involved, the economic interdependence of the various States and the will of each to fight to the end in a conflict upon which its national existence may depend." (Gen. Réquin, p. 14) Every new weapon is an attempt to gain an advantage and to hasten victory, but it is balanced by defensive measures and by the enemy's adoption of the same weap-

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on. In modern war, when great armies that are equipped with modern armaments engage, an almost immediate result is the stalemate, with its attendant "stultification of strategy," that marked the World War. Total war is by its very nature an economic as well as a military struggle between peoples, a slow process of attrition in which the resources of body, intelligence and will on one side wear down and break like resources on the other. The "short and jolly war" that one distinguished figure looked forward to in 1914 is even less of a possibility in the future.

The contributors to "What Would be the Character of a New War" discuss countless other aspects of their subject besides those that have been mentioned. For the most part they write objectively: it is only occasionally that the propagandist gets the better of the observer and expositor. For this very objectivity, the volume almost deserves to be called, as it was by an English writer, "the most terrible book ever written." The question that gives title to this work necessarily suggests and involves another: What would be the effects of a new war? To this question the present writer can give but one answer. A new war would not only be total in its intension; it would be universal in its extension. The economic solidarity of the modern world is of itself sufficient to bring about a military solidarity, and there are other and deeper forces that would make a new war a world war. For nations to determine upon another such struggle would be to become, as no less an observer of the present scene than Pope Pius XII has said, "monstrously murderous and almost certainly suicidal." Our civilization is a thin and fragile thing; it cannot stand the shock of a new war.

COMMUNICATIONS

NEW LIGHT ON BIRTH CONTROL

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: It was natural that the larger questions involved in the nature of matrimony should be brought to the fore by the publication of the article "New Light on Birth Control." Nor is it undesirable that such discussion should serve to focus attention in this matter on the comprehensiveness of the doctrine of the "Ecclesia docens." Every question with regard to matrimony will sooner or later be brought sharply back to the essence of matrimony as determined by its primary end.

Happily about the primary end there is no controversy within the Church. Canon 1013 of the New Code states clearly: "The primary end of matrimony is the procreation and education of children; the secondary end is mutual assistance and a legitimate remedy of concupiscence." All of this is unmistakably repeated in the encyclical "Casti Connubii." "Thus amongst the blessings of marriage, the child holds the first place, and indeed the Creator of the human race Himself, who in His goodness wished to use men as His helpers in the propagation of life, taught this when, instituting marriage in Paradise, He said to our first parents, and through them to all spouses, 'Increase and multiply, and fill the earth,' as Saint Augustine admirably deduces from the words of the holy apostle St. Paul to Timothy when he says, 'The apostle himself is therefore a witness that marriage is for the sake of generation; 'I wish,' he says, 'young girls to marry.' And as if some one said to him, why, immediately adds 'to beget children, to be mothers of families.' "

From this point of departure the condemnation of the resolution of the Anglican bishops was logical and inevitable. Of course contraception in the ordinary language of the day refers to artificial, positive means to arbitrarily frustrate the life-producing processes and in that sense cannot be applied to the natural operation of the sterile period. Who can forget the vigorous words of the supreme teacher of Christendom? "But no reason, however grave, may be put forward by which anything intrinsically against nature may become conformable to nature and morally good. Since, then, the conjugal act is destined *primarily* by nature for the begetting of children, those who in exercising it deliberately frustrate its natural power and purpose sin against nature and commit a deed which is shameful and intrinsically vicious. . . . Since, therefore, openly departing from uninterrupted Christian tradition, some recently have judged it possible *solemnly* to declare another doctrine regarding this question, (The resolution of the Anglican bishops. I. W. C.) the Catholic Church, to whom God has entrusted the defense of the integrity and purity of morals, standing erect in the midst of the moral ruin which surrounds her, in order that she may preserve *the chastity of the nuptual union* from being defiled by *this* foul stain, raises her voice in token of Divine Ambassadorship and through our mouth proclaims anew; any use whatsoever of matrimony exercised in such a way that the act is deliberately frustrated in its natural power to generate life is an offence against the law of God and of nature, and those who indulge in such are branded with the guilt of grave sin."

It is this doctrine against the use of artificial and positive means to frustrate generation, in the popular mind associated with the term contraceptives, which loyal priests have steadfastly taught even to those pressed down by economic distress incomparably less than the spiritual distress of mortal sin. They have only followed the solemn injunction of the Supreme Pastor contained in the same encyclical; "We, therefore, admonish priests, who hear confessions and others who have the care of souls, in virtue of our supreme authority and in our solicitude for the salvation of souls *not to allow* the faithful entrusted to them to err regarding this grave law of God; much more, that they keep themselves immune from false opinions and in no way connive at them." As if to defend the Church and devoted priests from the charge of unfeelingness, the Holy Father added; "We are deeply touched by the sufferings of those parents who, in extreme want, experience great difficulty in rearing their children. However, they should take care lest the calamitous state of their external affairs should be the occasion for a much more calamitous error."

That the laity should not associate in their minds the forbidden use of contraceptives in the popularly understood meaning of the term with the legitimate use of a sterile period, the Holy Father did not hesitate to declare

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to the whole Church and the whole world; "Nor are those considered as acting against nature who in the married state use their right in the proper manner although on account of *natural* reasons either of time or of certain defects, new life cannot be brought forth. For in matrimony as well as in the use of matrimonial rights there are also *secondary ends* such as mutual aid, the cultivating of mutual love, and the quieting of concupiscence, which husband and wife are not forbidden to consider so long as they are subordinated to the primary end and so long as the intrinsic nature of the act is preserved."

In all the discussions private and public consequent upon the publication of two recent books by American publishers on physiological sterility and articles which have appeared on this subject both in the Commonweal and America, it is of paramount importance to keep well to the fore the fundamental principles laid down for the whole world by the Vicar of Christ, His Holiness, Pius XI. Supernatural wisdom, to say nothing of supernatural prudence as well as Catholic loyalty cannot be satisfied with less.

IGNATIUS W. COX, S. J.

A CATHOLIC CIRCULATING LIBRARY

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editor: Readers who have followed the letters in recent issues of THE COMMONWEAL regarding Catholic books in public libraries will be interested in certain features of such service rendered by the Public Library of the District of Columbia. The library contains a representative collection of Catholic books consisting of titles, chiefly in the fields of biography, history and apologetics, acquired during a period of many years in part by purchase and in part by volumes transferred by the Library of Congress under the law from the Copyright Office. Recently a number of Catholic books were added to one of the branch libraries serving a large Catholic population. For several years at the beginning of Lent, this library has issued under the direction of Dr. John K. Cartwright of St. Patrick's Church, a list of Catholic books suggested for Lenten reading. These lists have, as a rule, been published also in the Baltimore Catholic Review, the official archdiocesan organ.

W. T. PURDUM.

A CRADLE OF CATHOLICISM

Newton, N. J.

TO the Editor: May I be permitted to make a few remarks on Leo J. Washila's article, "A Cradle of Catholicism," which appeared in THE COMMONWEAL, June 2, 1933, for I feel that THE COMMONWEAL does not wish to indorse incorrect statements.

First of all, there is too much space given to Kosciusko in connection with the point in question, for it is more probable that he worshiped at St. Mary's Church (built 1763) which was the "parish" church from then on. *Transeat.*

It can be proved that Lionel Brittin's conversion occured at the latest in 1708, wherefore he could not have been the "first convert of Father Joseph Greaton," who

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did not come to America until much later, either in 1720 or 1721.

The year 1733 is a more acceptable date for the founding of St. Joseph's Church, though it may have been started in 1732; the anniversary would be out of place this year.

Father (Robert) Molyneux cannot claim with others the "chief merit for founding the Catholic Church in Philadelphia," since he came to that city only in 1772 as the successor of Father Harding. But among the "founders" must be included Father Theodore Schneider, S. J., who came from Germany in 1741 with Father Wappeler, and officiated at St. Joseph's from 1741-1758 for the German Catholics, but who also preached in English at the afternoon services.

It is very doubtful whether Father Molyneux can be regarded as the "founder of the first parochial school," for Father Farmer (Steinmeyer) reporting to Germany Father Schneider's death in 1764, wrote that he had "founded many schools." He surely had a school in Philadelphia that was under church auspices and must therefore be considered as a parochial school, while St. Mary's School was opened about 1782.

In 1758 Father Farmer replaced Father Schneider (who resided in Goshenhoppen) at Philadelphia. But in spite of his extensive mission travels he baptized more often in Philadelphia than Father Molyneux. Father Farmer's registers are extant from 1758-1786, the year of his death, but those of Father Molyneux, extant from 1773-1786, contain less names than Father Farmer's for the same period, speaking only for Philadelphia; so that it was Father Farmer who did the lion's share of work even in the city. Molyneux was not President of Georgetown then as the writer makes it appear.

Let us have good history!

Rev. Lambert Schrott, O.S.B.

THE DREISERS

Detroit, Mich.

To the Editor: The article in your issue of July 7th by Carmel O'Neil Haley needs checking up as to places and names. The statement is made that "Paul was sent to St. Meinerts, Ky., a preparatory boarding school, to fit him for Holy Orders."

Checking with the Catholic Directory you will look in vain for such a town or institution in Kentucky, but you will find the well known Benedictine Abbey in St. Meinrad, Ind., which is not only a preparatory school, but a complete seminary. Further in the article reference is made to "Father Ollerdine," and again referring to the Directory as well as the intimate acquaintance of the writer with the clergy of the Diocese of Indianapolis for the past forty-three years, I am unable to find such a name. However and most likely the writer refers to Father Allerding, author of the History of the Diocese of Vincennes, founder of St. Joseph's parish of Indianapolis, and later bishop of the Diocese of Ft. Wayne, Ind.

Louis W. Krieg.

BOOKS

The Life of a Revolutionary

De Valera, by Denis Gwynn. New York: E. D. Dutton and Company, $3.50.

MR. GWYNN has written in this book, the first able and concise as well as comprehensive biography of an unusually enigmatic man. His treatment of Mr. De Valera's American mission and the Truce negotiations is admirably done, the more so since these phases of his subject's career were not promising material. Very properly he has avoided the spectacular side of Mr. De Valera's career—it has always been overdone—and concentrated on the course and divagations of his mental development from the time when "his nationalistic education, so to speak, was not yet completed" to the point where, today, he seems to be in possession of a comprehensive and, at any rate so he believes, practical program of nationalism. Unfortunately, as it seems to this reviewer, Mr. Gwynn is too much concerned with the divagations and inconsistencies in Mr. De Valera's career, and insufficiently with its unifying premises.

For Mr. De Valera is, was, and probably always will be, as he was called during the civil war, an Irregular. He has stood all his life and stands now at the head of a revolutionary movement. And a revolutionary simply cannot afford to be consistent. Consider his career. He was in jail when he was first nominated for a parliament he refused to attend. He was "wanted" when he had the consummate nerve to go to America in the hope of persuading the Republicans or the Democrats to adopt a plank recognizing a non-existent Irish Republic (and after he had spoken for months on the principle of self-determination and the Republicans agreed to adopt a plank recognizing that principle in regard to Ireland, he refused to accept it). He was in jail when he was elected in 1922 to a Dail he refused to recognize. Yet in 1927 he was inside that Dail, having subscribed to an oath that he had always refused to take (declaring incidentally, later on, that he never took the oath on the grounds that he had merely signed his name to it). For five years he contributed to the working of a Treaty that he had bitterly opposed and to wreck which scores of his young followers had been executed a few years before. In 1932 he was President of the Executive Council of the Free State and had persuaded his followers throughout the country that he had won an amazing victory for their cause—a victory they could have had for the asking without the loss of a single life years before. Obviously, judged by ordinary standards, any man who could take up, with the most ingenuous declarations of the rightness of each step, so many different and even divergent positions would be considered in any other country little better than a cynical politician and would probably have been hounded from public life within a few years. But Mr. De Valera has suffered neither that fate nor that judgment and few people—even in Ireland—would say that he deserves either. Few people, evidently, in England would say the same thing for Mr. Ramsay McDon-

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ald even after he "abandoned" his followers in 1932. The circumstances are everything in such cases, and it is the weakness of Mr. Gwynn's book that he refuses to consider the circumstances or admit the premises from which his subject starts. As a result his judgments are colored throughout by an *a priori* assumption of an unlimited capacity for self-deception in his subject, where it would have been more to the point to assume an endless elasticity in an iron man.

Admittedly the biographer of Mr. De Valera must err on the side of charity. Admittedly he is a most exasperating person in many respects. Admittedly "it is impossible to tie him down to the plain implications of ordinary language and conduct," and his "metaphysical ingenuity is inexhaustible." It has been all very tiresome, no doubt, especially to such straightforward politicians as Mr. Lloyd-George. But that the guerilla cannot march in a straight line and does not fight according to the rules does not make him a bandit. Again one cannot argue unless one agrees on the premises. Either one must reject Mr. De Valera as an impossible person who refuses to accept the code of ordinary human behavior, or one must sway all one's will-power and sympathy towards an understanding of his background. He knows that himself—he clings to history, his first principles, like a barnacle, knowing that if he is isolated from what has produced him he will be an empty shell.

SEAN O'FAOLAIN.

A Map of Modern Industry

Modern Industrial Organization. By Herbent von Beckerath. Translated by Robinson Newcomb and Franziska Krebs. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. $4.

IF ONE were to name a dozen books dealing with specifically modern economic problems which the average citizen ought to read, Professor von Beckerath's work would be among them. It has the disadvantage of being somewhat old, (first published, 1930) so that the phenomena incident to the depression receive less attention than one might desire. But this minor fault is far outweighed by the brilliant skill with which the basic structure of the modern industrial order is mapped out. No other book on the same subject is more obviously a reflection of practical experience in the world of business, and yet few reckon with a more comprehensive or discriminatingly chosen bibliography.

The author's purpose is to provide "a description and examination of the facts and relationships involved in large-scale capitalistic production." Two opening chapters outline the history of that production as part of the modern industrial order, and define the nature of technology as "emancipation from organic nature in methods, forces and materials." There follows what is perhaps the most valuable part of the treatise. Here the technical and economic functions of enterprises and plants are defined and examined critically. For an American reader the discussion is interesting chiefly by reason of the comparisons between conceptions which have established them-

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selves in various countries. We seem to see that industry has everywhere been coming to grips with certain universal problems which have not, however, been approached in one way merely.

Manufacturers are not financiers, but the use of credit is essential to the processes of production and trade. Viewing the picture as a whole, it would seem possible to assert that economic trends conform with laws fairly easy to determine if not to follow. On the one hand there is the price of labor—that most fateful of all modern sociological verities—not determinable *a priori* and, regardless of desires, not fixable apart from the realm of economic fact; on the other hand there is the cost and availability of money, upon the continued use of which the modern "system" everywhere depends. Professor von Beckerath has many excellent observations to make precisely because he speaks as an observer and not as a reformer.

The later portions of the book are concerned with the principal ideas which have been advanced to effect control of "plant and market." Efforts to influence supply and demand, the cartels and other agencies for eliminating "collisions," the relationship between government and industry—these things are dealt with scientifically but also with full cognizance of human verities proper. A final chapter, as worth while today as when it was written, summarizes fundamental truths upon the general realization of which such a measure of Utopia as man has a right to expect must depend. This is not a book calculated to make anybody hurrah for much of anything. But if there were many serious and ethical-minded readers of it, the fatal attractiveness of the spell-binder would unquestionably diminish.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER.

Via Media

Dryden, by Christopher Hollis. London: Duckworth. 10/.

MR. CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS'S very readable book is the first attempt to approach the character of John Dryden from an exclusively Catholic viewpoint. This fact alone would give the work some importance. Naturally, there is opportunity enough for the exercise of the biographer's apparent intention, a revaluation and vindication of the character of the great laureate. However, Mr. Hollis's book is of that type of recent biography, much of it English in origin, which takes the *via media* between the scholarly and the journalistic, with an eye, usually, to the latter. Unfortunately, Dryden is not a subject that lends itself to this manner of treatment. There is not a large amount of readily accessible material that can be relied upon. Assertions must be continually reëxamined; traditional concepts must be placed in their true light. When Mr. Hollis in such cases does approach correct conclusions, it is through his intuitive sympathy, and with an amount of indefiniteness.

Gratefully accepting Mr. Hollis's attitude for what it is, it was something of a surprise to discover that, in his treatment of the one topic so fruitful in acrimonious re-

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flections, Dryden's pensions, he had not taken advantage of the "Calendar of Treasury Books, 1660-1689" (1923), from which, as Dr. Louis I. Bredvold just recently demonstrated, one is able to establish the falsity of the customary, unsupported statements on this matter. Failing this, the note by Mr. Charles E. Ward, published in England last spring, would have indicated material, and the direction in which it pointed.

By concluding that "Amboyna" was dedicated to Clifford "to win the favor of the Catholic party," Mr. Hollis, in tracing out Dryden's religious development, runs against a difficulty with "The Spanish Friar," which, incidently, was produced a year before the date he gives for its writing. The implications of the "Amboyna" dedication were more probably political: Clifford's Catholicism is not as certain as his Toryism. It is also questionable whether the character of Saint Catherine in "Tyrannic Love" deserves entirely the significance Mr. Hollis suggests. Except for the line (1, 87) of "Absalom and Achitophel" pointed out by Verrall as a possible hint of Dryden's mind, it is extremely doubtful whether there is any indication of a definite crystallization of his opinion before the philosophical scepticism of "Religio Laici," 1682, incited by Father Simon's "Critical History of the Old Testament" of which a translation was published in the spring of the same year. Mr. Hollis is certainly correct in concluding that Dryden's conversion to Catholicism was after this confession almost inevitable.

It would be only tedious here to check the errors and the too definite use of doubtful points which occur in the work. However, one might object to the idea that Dryden later was embarassed by his stanzas on Cromwell; that the preface to Settle's "Empress of Morocco" contained "an extraordinarily offensive personal attack"; that a "Session of Poets" is really attributable to Dryden; that "Alexander's Feast" was dashed off "at one sitting." A closer study of the political lines would have been more valuable than such atmosphere as the chapter on "Friends and Enemies" provides. The handling of the variant attitudes of Catholics toward James II is judicious though not exhaustive. Dryden's characteristic conservatism applied itself also to the vigorous religious policy of the last Stuart king.

Mr. Hollis's addition to the strong, current interest in Dryden, though not what it might have been, has its place. There is a large amount of work, especially on philosophic and political backgrounds, yet to be done toward the revaluation of Dryden and his period. As Dryden came himself to fear, the magnificent indifference with which he customarily disregarded the scurrilous attacks of his contemporaries had its grave effects—a sad commentary on the prejudices and lack of scholarship that colored English historical biography. In this country, the work of Dr. Louis I. Bredvold and of Dr. George R. Noyes has been of no little significance and is to be hopefully anticipated. Somewhat by way of parallel is the excellent work from the humanistic literary viewpoint offered by Mr. T. S. Eliot.

RICHARD H. PERKINSON.

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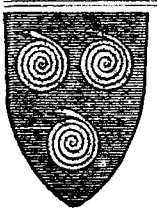
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Briefer Mention

Friday's Business, by Maurice Baring. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

KOSSOVIA is Maurice Baring's Ruritania and his Rudolph Rassendyl is Patrick Croome. But although his and Anthony Hope's ingredients are much the same, the resulting mixture is radically different. Mr. Baring slips in a good tumblerful of irony and sets his cocktail off with a garnishment of political travesty. Thus "Friday's Business" is more serious than "The Prisoner of Zenda." It is no less entertaining, even if the reader is inclined to balk at the vagueness of the allegory. The Fakels, a political party into whose machinations the hero is drawn by the *femme fatale* essential to stories of this kind, do find some parallel with the Fascists, Nazis et al. Perhaps, too, Mr. Baring gives opponents of Hitler and Mussolini a tip in his account of the downfall of Ducros, Kossovia's powerful and popular minister, formerly an Eton school teacher. For Ducros is helpless before "ragging." As one of his pupils, Croome had learned that secret and imparts it to the Fakels. Their course then was to laugh Ducros out of office. If there is burlesque in all this, Mr. Baring employs an artist's subtlety to keep it from being obtrusive. Naturally this novel is a decided departure from the writer's usual work. Plainly he is here on a holiday, is having a wonderful time and very neatly conveys that enjoyment to the reader.

Bernadette, by Lawrence L. McReavy. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company. $1.25.

DESPITE the statement of Father McReavy in his preface, the history of Bernadette Soubirous is not universally known. Comparatively little has been written about her. His biography, in popular form, comes therefore very opportunely in this year of Lourdes's celebration of its Diamond Jubilee, and at a time when Bernadette's canonization within the Holy Year is confidently expected. Father McReavy's biography, although not profound, is highly informative and delightful. Bernadette after she had accomplished the mission assigned her, sought the obscurity of a convent. The author here does not rudely lift the curtain.

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